

P  
P  
P

Manchuria

The  
**INDEPENDENCE**  
of  
**MANCHOUKUO**

**"The basic and unswerving policy of Japan in  
Manchoukuo is a most scrupulous respect  
for the independence and sovereignty  
of that country"**



Paper read by George Bronson Rea, Counsellor  
of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Govern-  
ment of Manchoukuo before the Members of the  
Legal Fraternity of Gamma Eta Gamma, The George  
Washington Law School, Washington, D. C., on  
November 23, 1933.







Digitized by the Internet Archive  
in 2018 with funding from  
Columbia University Libraries

<https://archive.org/details/independenceofma00reag>

# The INDEPENDENCE of MANCHOUKUO

"The basic and unswerving policy of Japan in  
Manchoukuo is a most scrupulous respect  
for the independence and sovereignty  
of that country"



Paper read by George Bronson Rea, Counsellor  
of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Govern-  
ment of Manchoukuo before the Members of the  
Legal Fraternity of Gamma Eta Gamma, The George  
Washington Law School, Washington, D. C., on  
November 23, 1933.



It may seem somewhat paradoxical that an American should champion the cause of Manchoukuo at a time when our Government and the League of Nations have placed on record their decision to refuse recognition to the new State. I offer no apologies for defending a cause that in my humble opinion represents all those ideals and principles upon which human liberty and progress are founded. The League's condemnation of Manchoukuo was based on technicalities while our State Department is apparently more concerned for its treaties and policies than with the fundamentals. If, therefore, I differ with my own Government in these matters, it is because I hold that treaties, conventions, covenants and other pacts which contravene the basic principles of humanity cannot endure.

I would not have you believe that I uphold the infraction of treaties entered into in good faith. We may believe that Japan violated her commitments with us, but we can never convince the people of that country that they acted otherwise than in self-defense. It all depends upon the point of view. When one of the Signatories to the Peace Pacts openly resorts to trade boycotts and complete severance of economic relations as instruments of national policy in order to bring financial ruin to another Signatory; when this same nation increases its armed forces to where they outnumber the combined standing armies of all other countries of the world, announces its intention to abrogate the treaties and the Powers make no move individually or in concert to defend their threatened interests, the time had to arrive when some incident would compel the nation most vitally affected to protect itself.

The Foreign Offices of every government had full and accurate knowledge of what was happening in China. They had all been warned that the Nanking Government would abolish extra-territoriality on the first of January, 1932; they all knew that any incident would touch off the explosion, yet no Power would act alone to defend its interests. As long as Japan's ox was being gored, the others looked on and secretly applauded. Japan's trade loss was their gain. They overlooked that the League Covenant contained no provision for penalizing a Member State for violating its treaties; that the Peace Pacts ignored that war could be waged just as aggressively and destructively by economic measures as by armed force and, that all Signatories reserved to themselves the right of self-defense and to interpret that right in their own fashion. Yet, when Japan, provoked beyond the limits of human endurance, broke out of the treaty trap and defended herself, the whole world unanimously condemned her. With perhaps a more intimate knowledge of the inside history of what has transpired in Eastern Asia during the past three decades, I may be pardoned if I cannot see eye to eye with those who so hastily judged and condemned Japan.

I wish to make clear at the outset of my talk that I am not an official of the Manchoukuo Government. I am merely retained by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of that Government as counsel to present and defend its case. I retain all my rights, privileges and *duties* as an American citizen. In this capacity, as one American speaking to another, I can express my views and interpret those of the Government and people of Manchoukuo with greater clarity and frankness than as a duly ac-



credited diplomatic agent. If my opinions convey the impression that I am not in full accord with the policies of our State Department, there are weighty reasons which have influenced me to take this stand. The trend of American diplomacy in the Far East will inevitably lead the nation into war. The natural forces at work in Asia cannot be regulated by laws, treaties, anti-war pacts or any other Canute-like gestures. World disapproval can have no effect upon the procreative recklessness of a race whose religion is based on ancestor worship with the necessity of having as many male children as possible to keep up the cult. We cannot side-step the basic issue of the Pacific. One of these Asiatic countries must find an outlet and if not permitted to overflow into its natural sphere, as the pressure from within mounts higher, it will follow the immutable law of nature and break through at the weakest point. If the people of the United States confide their future security and happiness to paper doctrines, place their trust in treaties, reduce their fleet and raze their forts, they must expect to be inundated by the flood from Asia. If we are to persist in our present Far Eastern policies we must prepare and quickly to face the issues our sentimental diplomacy is forcing upon the nation. We can avert the catastrophe only by compounding amicably our differences with Japan, recognizing her right to exist and apply in her own sphere the same measures for security we insist upon for ourselves in our own sphere. We can make of Japan a permanent friend and ally instead of a potential enemy; can turn the Pacific Ocean into a highway of peaceful commerce and reduce the war-fleets of both nations to a new low-level ratio if we permit

common sense to overrule our sentiment. But if we refuse to modify our attitude toward these problems; if the United States insists upon guaranteeing the territorial integrity of China and Asiatic Russia; if we continue to build a ring fence around Japan and confine her to a water-tight compartment; if we place ourselves squarely across the path of her expansion in her own natural sphere; if we sit on Japan's safety valve while she is going full steam ahead; we must be prepared for the consequences. If that is to be our policy, then I say to my countrymen, *Get Ready to Fight!*

If there was any vital interest of the United States at stake, I would say that the sooner the war is fought and over with, the better. If the United States could even derive any material benefit from such a war, I might even be sordid enough to say let's have it out now. But there is absolutely nothing to gain from a war with Japan. If we win, we lose.

I have reluctantly come to the conclusion that behind our Far Eastern policy, lurks the fear that Japan will become too strong, that our real objective is that same security France demands in Europe, that Japan asks for in Asia and that other nations have built up in other parts of the world. If that be a correct estimate of our diplomacy, we must have a fleet strong enough to assert at all times our supremacy. We can no more stop the growth of Japan than Europe could stop the United States from becoming great and powerful and, if any great European Power joins with us to crush Japan in order to guarantee our security and power in the Pacific, we will have to pay the price. We have refused to guarantee the security of France and Great Britain,

and we cannot expect them to grow wildly enthusiastic about coming to our aid, especially when they have everything to gain by remaining neutral. But, no matter whether we fight such a war single-handed or in alliance with others, the victors would impose upon the vanquished a limitation of armaments that would safeguard their future security. The enforcement of such peace terms would require the presence of such a huge American fleet in Asiatic waters that we would become a permanent Far Eastern Power, the guarantor of the territorial integrity of every state in Eastern Asia and the policeman of the Pacific. The cost of maintaining this fleet, would in the end, be greater than the cost of waging the war.

If this be our policy, the nation should be frankly informed of the fact and the funds voted by Congress to uphold our new conception of security. In my humble opinion, we have all we can do in our own hemisphere to maintain the Monroe and Caribbean Doctrines. If, on top of this, we are to guarantee China and Asiatic Russia against aggression and dismemberment, then let us stop talking, face the facts and build up a navy to enforce respect for our policies.

You are told that the good-will and trade of the 500,000,000 people of China are essential to our future prosperity; that we must preserve intact the territorial integrity of their country to be assured of that trade; that we must keep a fleet in the Pacific and gun-boats on the Yangtsze River to guard against any other nation obtaining the advantage over us. The essence of our Far Eastern diplomacy is the Open Door Doctrine. You have been educated to believe that, like the Monroe Doc-

trine, it has become a cardinal feature of our diplomacy and, that under certain conditions, the nation would go to war to enforce it.

For the past thirteen years (1920-1932) our exports to China in round numbers were valued at \$1,359,000,000 an average of \$100,000,000 a year. Of this, 40 percent represents our sales of oil and tobacco and with raw cotton added, a little over 50 percent. We don't have to go to war to hold this business. We enjoy almost a natural monopoly in these staples. Certainly, we do not fear the competition of Japan in these commodities.

The Japanese have invested over a half a billion dollars in industrial enterprises in China; in railways, mines, cotton, oil, flour and sugar mills, steamships, etc., which creates a market of at least ten percent a year in spare parts, extensions, repairs, new machinery, supplies, accessories and materials. Japanese firms in the United States have purchased as high as \$45,000,000 a year of American materials for these enterprises of theirs in China, but I am taking the lowest figure, placing it at \$25,000,000. In the last three years we have exported to China an average of \$25,000,000 in raw cotton alone, and when you remember that at least 75 percent or \$18,000,000 worth of this staple, is consumed by the Japanese cotton mills in that country, you will sense that my estimate is more than fair. So we see that fifty percent of our export trade with China is in oil, tobacco and cotton and twenty-five percent in what the Japanese buy for their own enterprises in that country, leaving twenty-five percent, or \$25,000,000 in sundries for which we have to compete with the rest of the world. Reduced to dollars and cents the Open Door therefore



simmers down to selling annually \$25,000,000 of American goods to China.

In addition, the Japanese purchase in this market another \$50,000,000 of raw and partly finished materials for export to their own country where they are manufactured into finished products and exported to China as Japanese goods. This brief analysis reveals that the Japanese sell as many American goods in China as we do ourselves. Yet the American people are being constantly informed that the Japanese are closing the door to their trade with China and that some day we must fight Japan to keep the door open!

If we assume that one half the value of our exports to China represents labor, and estimate the average annual wage income of our farmers, mechanics and laborers employed in producing and handling these goods, at \$1,000, our export trade with China provides work for 50,000 persons. Investigation would probably reveal that the number is much less. Must we go to war to find employment for 50,000 people?

How much profit do we make from this \$100,000,000 export trade? Let us put it at ten percent, say \$10,000,000. Now, on the other side of the ledger put the following; for many years we contributed roughly \$10,000,000 a year for missionary work alone, with perhaps another \$5,000,000 for colleges, hospitals, Y. M. C. A.'s and other uplift activities. For every dollar of profit from our trade with China we handed back one and half, if not two, for charity. These contributions are now much less, perhaps one half, but as our export trade has also fallen off nearly one half, the proportion remains about the same.

I do not know what it costs the taxpayer to maintain the Asiatic Fleet, the Yangtze Patrol and the three regiments of marines and regular infantry in China to protect the lives and property of our citizens, but it will fall not short of \$25,000,000 a year. Add to this the cost of subsidizing the American mercantile marine in the Pacific, the expense attached to our Commerce Department, pile on the defaulted and repudiated loans and the unpaid bills for materials delivered to the Chinese Government, spread these items over a period of thirteen years and the total will not be less than \$6,000,000 a year. I will say nothing of Red Cross Famine and Flood Relief, or even the recent \$50,000,000 cotton and wheat credit, nor include the remitted Boxer Indemnity. I will not be far wrong when I assert that the cost to the American taxpayer of protecting and advancing our trade with China is probably \$30,000,000 a year, or three times the profits from that trade. This has been going on for years. I make bold to state that in the last thirteen years the nation is out-of-pocket at least \$500,000,000 in its trade with China, representing the profits from fifty years of trading with that country.

Now, when you are again told that the Nation must go to war to uphold and enforce the Open Door Doctrine, demand of your Congressmen and Senators the balance sheet of that trade for the past two decades. Let us know what we are expected to fight for. There are other interesting and pertinent angles to this trade situation that merely accentuate the above figures but which have no place in any presentation of facts about Manchoukuo's independence. I could not however resist the impulse to depart from my subject long enough to dis-

abuse your mind that we must fight Japan over the Open Door in China. Japan is not only our best customer in Asia, but next to our own nationals, the best salesman of American goods in China. I know of no other country so closely bound to us by ties of mutual interest.

There are no issues between the United States and Japan that cannot be amicably adjusted if there is a will for peace on both sides. The people of the United States are not interested in these Far Eastern disputes. They will never be dragged into a war in the Pacific unless Japan forces the issue. The rulers and people of Japan do not want to fight the United States. They will make any sacrifice compatible with honor and dignity to be assured of the good-will and friendship of this country. They insist however on their right to self-defense and to interpret that right in their own way. As you will gather from what I have to say about Manchoukuo, this is the dominating motive behind what Japan has done in that country and, that the only obstacle to the full attainment of these aims is the doctrine promulgated by Secretary Stimson and endorsed by the League of Nations. You will also sense that this doctrine should not apply to Manchoukuo for the reason that Japan has not employed force to conquer or annex that territory. The Doctrine simply denies to the people of that country the exercise of those rights upon which our own national life and ideals are founded. With this brief explanation, I will return to the main subject of my talk.

The people of Manchoukuo reject the technicalities and legalities employed by the League and the American Government to condemn and outlaw the new State. They brush aside the covenants, treaties, doctrines, policies

and the complicated jargon of the professional diplomats and stand firmly on basic principles. The President of the United States in his recent address to the Woodrow Wilson Foundation advocates and approves of appealing from the verdicts of blundering governments to the common sense of their peoples as the most efficient method of doing away with wars and as the only way to overcome the arguments, excuses and objections interposed by short-sighted statesmen and diplomats to cover up their mistakes. If war by governments is to be changed to peace by peoples; if American statesmen are conceded the privilege of going over the heads of foreign governments and appealing directly to their peoples in order to gain support for their policies and doctrines, the rule to be fair, must work both ways. In view of President Roosevelt's recent declaration, the Government of Manchoukuo would seem to be well within its rights in acting upon his suggestion and advice in placing its case directly before the American people. Not that I believe any appeal for justice can now change the fixed policy of our Government as expressed in the Stimson Doctrine, but as these issues may lead the nation into war, it is well to keep the other side of the record straight, so the American people will understand what it is all about.

There was a time when the people and Government of Manchoukuo were eager to obtain outside sympathy and understanding, but they are no longer interested in what the world may think about how they achieved their independence. In making that statement, I do not wish to convey the impression that they are cynical or contemptuous of world opinion. They merely feel that they



have been unjustly condemned in order to satisfy the exigencies of world politics and that no presentation of their case can now change the verdict of the League and the United States.

They hailed with satisfaction the appointment of the League Commission of Enquiry to investigate conditions on the ground and report the facts to the League Council. They were prepared to welcome and extend every facility to that Commission, but you can imagine the surprise of the Manchoukuo Authorities when they were informed that it would be accompanied by a Chinese Assessor who was the right-hand man of their deposed tyrant and by two of his most trusted foreign advisers. The Manchoukuo Government protested against the appointment of these men, but was curtly informed that unless they accompanied the Commission, it would not enter Manchuria. The Commission visited the country, seeking only the facts which fitted in with its preconceived views. The case was prejudged before the evidence was in.

As the people of Manchoukuo see it, this Fact-Finding Commission constituted itself into the Prosecution and reported its facts to a Grand Jury composed of itself. It then indicted Manchoukuo and transformed itself into a Court which tried the case on its own evidence, rendered its verdict and dissolved itself. Its work was finished. The Government of Manchoukuo very properly assumed that the League was the final court of appeal and sent its representatives to Geneva to rebut the findings of the Commission, but found that the case was closed. There was no appeal from the verdict of the Commission. Manchoukuo stood at the bar of World Justice, condemned and sentenced without an opportu-

ity to present its side of the case. The verdict stands, and the sentence of the League, concurred in by the United States, is being carried out. Conscious of having committed no wrong, Manchoukuo faces its judges unabashed, unafraid, and accepts the verdict and its consequences. Confident in the righteousness of its cause, Manchoukuo will fight to the bitter end rather than surrender its right to liberty. The people of Manchoukuo will never again submit to the rule of the Chinese war-lords.

Let us examine some of the points on which the people of Manchoukuo rest their case. The doctrine of the territorial integrity of China under the administration of one Central Authority as embraced in the Nine Power Treaty may have been politically sound when the Treaty was signed, but from the viewpoint of Humanity it has developed into the most immoral and wicked policy of modern times, handing over to one war-lord the right to consolidate his rule over the whole country by the sword. It is impossible to hold 500,000,000 people together under one government. It has never been done in the history of the world and cannot be done today. In order to give effect to this doctrine and unite China under one strong Central Government, more people have been butchered and proportionately more property destroyed in that country than during the World War. The slaughter still goes on. This subject requires a more lengthy exposition, but the mere statement is sufficient to understand why the people of any section of that vast country who can break away from this horror are eminently justified in doing so, even though they may violate some treaty or doctrine imposed upon them from without.

There are so many angles to the complicated problems solved by the establishment of the new State that the time at my disposal prohibits reference to all of them. I will, therefore, confine myself to what, in the opinion of the people of Manchoukuo, constitute the basic principles involved. It may be true that the League Covenant, the Nine Power Treaty and the Peace Pacts were violated by Japan in resorting to self-defense to protect her interests in Manchuria. That, however, remains a matter of opinion. Even the League Report hesitates to openly condemn Japan. But whether she did or did not, is no concern of the people of Manchoukuo. They are interested solely in their prerogatives as human beings to rebel against injustice, misrule and oppression and set up their own government. For years the huge armies of their bandit-overlords, numbering four hundred thousand men, made impossible a spontaneous revolt against their authority. Several independence movements had been quickly suppressed with ruthless cruelty. The people, sunk in despair, surrendered all hope of escape from their misery. The military intervention of Japan in defense of her own interests which, in two days broke the power of their tyrant and dispersed his armies, came as an Act of God, an answer to the prayers of the people for deliverance. Some Western peoples feel that they alone enjoy a monopoly of Divine favor. But the lowly Chinese and Manchurian farmer also believes that Heaven guards over him. Who will be bold enough to question the ways and workings of Providence? The power of Japan broke the shackles that held the thirty million people of Manchoukuo in servitude and set them free. The people of Manchoukuo accept it as a manifes-

tation of Heaven in their affairs. The rest of the world may prefer to see the horns and forked-tail of a Japanese Devil lurking in the background of the picture, but that does not change the fact that the people of Manchoukuo are now free. The League and the Government of the United States may believe what they wish, but the people of Manchoukuo are not looking a gift horse in the mouth.

They contend they had the same right to oust a tyrant and exercise the principle of self-determination which the Powers and "Succession States" of Europe appealed to in order to safeguard their own liberties and conception of security. They have been told in so many words that they cannot exercise that right; that they must return to the rule of the Chinese war-lords and surrender their independence. They are told that their independence violates some of the international treaties and agreements upon which the world hopes to erect an edifice of lasting peace and justice; that those sacred and eternal principles of Humanity, Civilization and the right of a people to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, does not apply to them. They are told that principles which are good for the peoples of Europe and America cannot be extended to the peoples of Asia. For better or for worse, the people of what is called "China" must remain the slaves of their war-lords, until they themselves, without outside assistance, rise in spontaneous revolt to right their wrongs. Well, all these arguments awakens no enthusiasm in the people of Manchoukuo. It leaves them frigid.

President Wilson once said: "*Democracy is not safe anywhere until it is safe everywhere.*" Our Nation entered the Great War to enforce this principle, which



means, if it means anything at all, that any community has the right to alter its government when found to be oppressive. In every part of the modern world, political differences tending towards the disintegration of empires and states are being met and solved, not by the dispatch of armies to hold the people in subjection, but by recognition of the principle laid down by Woodrow Wilson as one of the bases of an enduring world peace. It is only necessary to point to the present composition of the British Empire as an example of how this new conception of statesmanship based on a sense of self-preservation, is working out. Yet, at the very moment when Ireland had carried its fight for absolute freedom to the point of refusing to give the oath of allegiance to King George, its representative at Geneva, officiating as President of the Council of the League of Nations, vehemently denied the same right to another people living on the other side of the globe, because forsooth, their independence had been made possible by Japan's resort to force in defense of her own interests!

The question might be asked: "Could Ireland have won her freedom without the financial support of the Irish in the United States, the sympathy of the American people and a rigid non-interference on the part of our authorities in their revolutionary activities?" Was it not the same with Cuba? Did not the Cubans establish the headquarters of their Revolutionary Junta in New York City, openly enlist recruits for their armies, raise loans, purchase arms and munitions and fit out filibustering expeditions to land these cargoes on the coast of Cuba? Did the Federal Authorities ever make any more than a perfunctory move to put a stop to these

flagrant violations of the neutrality laws?

Let us apply the argument to the Far East. Japanese liberals extended hospitality, sympathy and financial support to Dr. Sun Yat-sen. For years, the Japanese authorities closed their eyes to the activities of the Chinese revolutionary group which made Tokyo its headquarters. There was no outcry at that time that the Japanese Government was breaking the laws of neutrality. But, when other Japanese lovers-of-liberty extend a helping hand to the oppressed slaves of Manchoukuo, the whole world holds their Government responsible for their acts, charging that their activities are all part of an official program for the conquest of China. The definition of self-determination apparently is something that is good for Ireland, Cuba and many other Western peoples, but not good enough for the people of Manchoukuo.

The first requisite for self-determination is that the principle shall express the wishes and will of a majority of the people. You are told by the League Commission that of the 30,000,000 inhabitants of Manchoukuo, 28,000,000 are pure Chinese, who do not wish to be separated from their brothers south of the Wall. This statement is not borne out by the facts. Since 1910, not more than five million Chinese have emigrated to Manchuria and remained as *permanent settlers*. If we go back forty-five years to 1885, the total will not exceed seven million. This leaves 21,000,000 to be accounted for. *Who are these people? Where did they come from?*

These people are the descendents of the Bannermen, sons of the soil, born in the state, the legitimate heirs to the patrimony handed down by their forebears. In-

stead of an overwhelming Chinese majority, investigation shows that at least seventy-five per cent are natives of the country. Although a fair percentage of these may be able to trace their ancestry to China Proper, their fathers forfeited the right to Chinese nationality when they entered Manchuria under the Manchu regulations which, for all practical purposes, were equivalent to our own immigration and naturalization laws. If it can be proven that a majority of the population is not Chinese, but pure Manchurians, the argument in support of their right to self-determination and independence requires no further elucidation.

The League Commission reported that it had received 1,500 letters from people in Manchoukuo protesting against the independence movement, but investigation disclosed that the majority of these letters were written by the students of the Northeastern University at Mukden at the command of Chang Hsueh-liang. There exists no machinery in China for ascertaining the will or wishes of its people. Delegates to so-called national conventions and conferences are chosen by the chambers of commerce, guilds, and other public bodies. When the Government of Manchoukuo translated and circulated the report of the League Commission of Enquiry to the people, it was flooded with telegrams and letters of protest from every public body in the State. Many of these were telegraphed direct to Geneva and in due time were followed by the originals of 580 letters of protest, signed and sealed by the responsible officials of these organizations. Thousands of similar communications from private individuals and firms were also received by the Manchoukuo authorities and deposited in the archives of the Govern-

ment. Yet this overwhelming and convincing evidence of the desire of the people for independence was thrown out. The League did not dare reopen the case and admit testimony which refuted the findings and recommendations of its Commission.

But, whether the people of Manchoukuo are Manchus, Mongols or Chinese, or a composite type evolved through three centuries of exclusive intermarriage between the three classes of Bannermen, they will defend by every means within their power their right to secede from a system which enslaved, outraged and denied to them their fundamental rights as human beings. They contend, and rightly so, that there are no covenants, treaties, conventions, policies or doctrines that can deprive them of these rights and, that they are clearly within the law in declaring their independence of the chaos recognized by the foreign Powers as the Government of the Republic of China.

They are told that the world cannot recognize that independence because it was made possible through the application of force on the part of Japan in defense of her own interests. The people of Manchoukuo do not deny that this military intervention created the opportunity for them to set up their own government but they ask: is that an infraction of the treaties or a violation of international law? The Japanese forces did not invade Manchuria. They were already there, 11,000 of them, protecting a railway under the provisions of a treaty conceding that right in the same way that forces of the Powers patrol the railway from Peking to Shan-haikwan in order to guarantee to the Legations a free access to the sea, that is, a quick and easy way of escape



should the Chinese repeat their madness of 1900. Should another anti-foreign or Communist movement in the north compel these troops to take over the operation of the Peking-Shanhaikwan Railway and, in the uncertainty and confusion that would follow, the local civil officials should desert their posts, the situation would be identical with what happened in Mukden on the night of September 18, 1931. In such a contingency, the Allied High Command would either have to assume immediate responsibility for the maintenance of law and order, or encourage responsible Chinese to take that burden off their shoulders and support them in the discharge of their duties. The day may arrive when such a situation may be precipitated and the Powers may also find that the people of North China will prefer independence under their own rulers rather than submit to some Sovietized-Southern war-lord.

The people of Manchoukuo acknowledge the assistance rendered by the Japanese army in creating the opportunity for them to shake off their shackles. If that be a crime, or a violation of treaties, they retort that every people who have achieved their independence have done so with help from the outside. They ask: "Could the United States have won its independence without the aid of France? Could the Cubans have emerged triumphant from their five-year struggle for liberty without the timely aid of the United States? Could the other Latin American states have preserved their independence without the protective guarantee of the Monroe Doctrine? Does not this Doctrine (even in its latest interpretation) still stand as their one security against outside aggression? How did the post-war states of Europe

achieve their independence? Carved out of the old Central Powers, Turkey and Russia, in order to safeguard the security and peace of Western Europe, the people of these states were permitted to exercise their right of self-determination and establish themselves as going concerns under the protection of the League of Nations. And, it is well to remember that this remaking of the map of Europe, this major operation of slicing large chunks from the territories of the vanquished foes, was carried out by an American President confident in his ability to reform the world and create a new international order.

Let me apply the principle to China. Mongolia is an independent republic set up by Russia and incorporated into the Soviet system. The Powers uttered no word of protest against this violation of China's territorial integrity. In 1925, Canton declared its independence of Peking and entered into an alliance with Moscow, not for the purpose of defending its independence, but for extending its rule over all China. When the Nationalist armies triumphed and set up their Government, first in Hankow and then in Nanking, the Powers recognized the accomplished fact. Whatever Soviet Russia does in China seems to be within the law, but when the people of Manchoukuo take advantage of the opportunity presented by Japan's resort to self-defense to declare their independence and enter into an alliance with Japan for mutual defense against a menace that looms just over their borders, the whole world condemns them and the machinery is set in motion to segregate them, penalize them and force them to return to the yoke of a Chinese warlord who cannot establish his rule over his own bailiwick.

What was good for the Mongols when done by Soviet Russia is bad for their next door neighbors and blood-brothers when done by Japan. There is no logic in such arguments, nothing but cold unreasoning prejudice, revealing a determination to block Japan at all hazards, holding her fast to treaties while Russia and China are permitted all the time necessary to prepare for her undoing. We are witnessing in the Far East a life and death struggle between two mighty forces, a fight for existence between the Mongol and the Slav and it ill becomes us as a nation to strengthen one side against the other by a too exacting compliance with treaties that should never have been signed in the first place and which should long ago have been revised.

Is the Nine Power Treaty different from other formal agreements or compacts between nations? If our contracts with other nations can be revised in order to meet the ability to pay of our debtors; if these debtors default on their payments because they need the funds for increased armaments and we continue to treat them as friends; how can we judge too harshly another good friend who resorts to self-defense in seeming violation of a Peace Pact which recognizes her right to do so and to define that right? Changing conditions in Europe have been advanced by our debtors to excuse defaulting on their contracts with the United States, but we are loath to admit that changing conditions in Asia and the imperative need of Japan to defend herself against the menace of these conditions, justifies her in defaulting on her political contract with us. On the other hand, Japan is the only nation in the world today that has never defaulted on her promise to pay. Is this a dishonest na-

tion? If her bond is good in financial matters, can she not also be trusted to keep her political pledges?

We overlook this admirable quality and to gain international support for our viewpoint, we rushed into the arms of those who violated their financial bond and solicited their cooperation against the political defaulter!

Stripped of superfluous verbiage, our attitude reveals that we are determined to hold Japan to the terms of treaties and covenants not binding upon Soviet Russia. We accept without question the Chinese forged "Tanaka Memorial" purporting to outline a program for the Japanese conquest of Asia, overlooking that even if authentic, the plan revealed was justified as an answer to the Soviet doctrine of World Revolution, which, notwithstanding all reports to the contrary, remains the basic policy of Communist Russia. The whole world has an exact knowledge of Communist aims and aspirations and every sensible government has taken measures to defend itself against this menace.

The world has watched the gradual spread of Communism and seen its disruptive working in every country where its doctrines have taken root. We have seen how it secured a foothold in China and converted the Yangtze Valley into a shambles. We are now witnessing a life and death struggle between the Nanking Government and the Communist armies led by fanatics trained in Moscow for this purpose, yet when Japan makes a move to protect herself against the spread of this movement, Moscow loudly proclaims that Japan is preparing for a war of aggression! The world is being brought face to face with another crisis in which the nation employing force to defend its existence and its system of government



will be judged and condemned as the aggressor, while the nation whose conquests are advanced by the spread of its subversive doctrines will be absolved of all wrong. The Pacts outlawing war as an instrument of national policy left the road wide open for China to employ economic pressure to enforce her diplomacy and there was no redress, even by appealing to the League. As a consequence, the world witnessed the Manchurian and Shanghai incidents, in which Japan was condemned as the aggressor, while China, the provoker, became the innocent and injured victim! The failure to define "aggression" may precipitate another world crisis. The Soviet Government, the Third International, or the Central Committee of the Communist Party (the names are interchangeable), has a fixed and unalterable program for the domination of Asia. Slowly, but steadily, Communist agents are silently extending their spheres of influence, inciting the peoples to rise against their rulers. With an army of over a million and a quarter men, Moscow preaches peace, enters feverishly into non-aggression pacts, proclaims her readiness to disarm and broadcasts her definition of the "aggressor." And the world, especially the unsophisticated American pacifist, laps up the Communist pap and acclaims the Soviet as their allies in the movement for world peace. These peace-loving Americans however overlook that aggressive imperialism does not always take the form of armed conquest or economic penetration. The same result may be attained by propaganda inciting peoples to overthrow their governments.

For the past fifteen years Soviet policy has disturbed the internal peace, stability and the institutions of every

country in the world. Barred by a watchful Poland and the states of the Little Entente from penetrating Western Europe, the Third International launched the campaign to bring Asia under its sway. Step by step the Soviet frontiers and influence have been pushed forward, until it became apparent that the end of the First Five Year Plan would see her impregnably entrenched in Central Asia with China and India at her mercy. Had not Japan moved to protect herself while there was yet time to do so, the Reds would now be ruling Nanking and Canton. In one short year the whole strategic picture in Asia was changed. When the Japanese pacified Northern Manchuria and pushed through to completion the railway from Hailun to Rashin, the road was open to transport their armies in motor vehicles from Harbin to Blagoveschensk in forty-eight hours, seizing and cutting the Amur Railway at that point, isolating Vladivostok and the Primorsk from the rest of Siberia. When the Japanese and Manchoukuo armies occupied Jehol, they placed themselves astride the road from Urga to Kalgan, the line of advance the Soviet relied upon to rush their troops into North China and flank Japan's position in South Manchuria. When Moscow awoke to the realities, she found herself checked on all fronts in Eastern Asia, menaced with the loss of her maritime provinces, and all the territory east of Baikal. Then, and only then, did Communism realize that its dream of World Revolution was over.

This will help to explain Moscow's otherwise inexplicable gesture to dispose of the Chinese Eastern Railway; why she placed the purchase price so high as to compel its rejection by Manchoukuo, and why the nego-

tiations were permitted to drag along until a deadlock was reached. It gave Moscow added time to strengthen her position, which she utilized by feverishly negotiating non-aggression pacts with her European neighbors and holding out inducements to win the friendship of the Capitalist Powers she had derided and flouted in the past. Litvinoff was dispatched to London to dangle before the Economic Conference the lure of rich concessions, fat contracts and billions of dollars in orders for materials. To obtain American recognition and promise of financial credits that would help the Soviet to push forward its preparations against Japan, Litvinoff was compelled to renounce and repudiate the very essence of Communism by throwing overboard the Third International. With American recognition, Moscow's attitude towards Japan immediately stiffened but the announcement that the American fleet would be withdrawn from the Pacific, clearly indicated that Washington had no intention of being drawn into any conflict in Asia. The American press followed this up by declaring that recognition did not imply alliance and that under no circumstances would the United States take sides in such a war. Bewildered, Moscow frantically began to seek allies amongst the capitalist nations of Europe but it is evident that no single Power will support her in such an emergency. Understanding that her dream of World Conquest is over, Moscow now announces a willingness to reshape her foreign policies and work in close collaboration with the League of Nations and other Peace organizations in order to gain sympathy and friends in the event of a showdown with Japan. *Soviet Russia is now a pacifist nation. She has abandoned—for the*

*moment—her program for World Revolution, but it is well to remember that it took Japan to call her bluff, and American diplomacy to strip her of her power to cause further trouble in the world.* It is also well to keep always in mind that Moscow no longer has to employ her own armies to advance Communism in Asia. The Red hordes of China led by Soviet-trained militarists are fighting Moscow's battles in the Far East. If they win, Communism triumphs.

Let us look at the picture of Asia as it is today. Mongolia is a Soviet Republic closed to foreign trade, travel and residence. No foreigner can enter the country to investigate what is going on behind the screen, but we know that there exists a Mongol force of 75,000 men drilled to a high state of efficiency by officers of the Soviet Army. Chinese Turkestan is only nominally a part of China. It belongs to the Soviet economic sphere, and it is only a question of time when it will gravitate into the Soviet political system. Central China is a congery of Soviet republics.

The Main Chinese Soviet Republic with its capital at Juiking in Kiangsi Province has been in existence for five years. Repeated major military campaigns directed by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek in person have failed to suppress it. It issues its own money and postage stamps. It is entirely self-contained except for salt which is smuggled in. It rules 6,500,000 people in Kiangsi alone and boasts an army of 70,000 well equipped and uniformed troops. All it needs is a sea port in Fukien through which to import arms and munitions and consolidate its position and power. (It is significant that the recent independence movement in Fukien synchro-



nized with the American Government's invitation to Moscow to discuss the terms of recognition.) Several other similar Soviet republics are scattered throughout the length and breadth of the Yangtsze Valley. Suppressed in one place, the Red armies locate in some other district and start afresh. Wherever they go, merchants, landowners and capitalists are ruthlessly butchered and the land re-distributed to the peasants. Young men and women trained in Moscow for this special purpose are appointed by the Central Executive Council of the Communist Party in China to educate and train the people in the tenets and working of the Communist faith. The emblem of the hammer and sickle has supplanted the Kuomintang sun on banners, stamps and seals of the Republic. The Communist revolution in Russia with all its horrors is being reenacted in China.

Every day the menace grows. Unless Chiang Kai-shek succeeds in suppressing the movement, the Reds will dominate the Yangtsze Valley. Canton or South China and now Fukien, are independent. Its leaders are so far to the Left as to be in the Communist camp. They have never forgiven Chiang Kai-shek for betraying them after they had conquered Central China and set up their Communist Government at Hankow. At the first sign that Chiang is weakening, they will line up with the Communists and re-establish their hold on the government. No matter how camouflaged, that government will be Red, and the combined armies of the Yangtsze and South China, numbering nearly two million men, will be free to turn their attention to North China and Manchoukuo. Across the border of Manchoukuo is garrisoned the Soviet Far Eastern Red Army of 250,000 men, the van-

guard of the main Red force of a million men in European Russia. Should Chiang Kai-shek be defeated and the Communist hordes of Central China move north, the Mongol army and Far Eastern Red divisions will march in unison and the jaws of the Communist nutcracker will close on Manchoukuo and North China.

You may think this is an extravagant picture. It is not. The Cantonese and the Reds have combined in Fukien to overthrow Chiang. It requires no prophet to foresee what will happen should the Nanking Government collapse. The full weight of the new Nationalist-Red armies will then be thrown in the field to subjugate North China. By that time Soviet Russia will have strengthened her position in Siberia and the pressure of Communistic opinion will compel the government to support their Comrades in China. The emphasis of the *Comintern* manifesto this year, as reported from Moscow, is on the strengthening of the Communist party in China to resist the Japanese. The picture is not overdrawn. The menace is there. The possibility of huge American credits to Soviet Russia, the establishment of American aircraft plants in Russia and China, combined with the Soviet's aerial concentration in the Far East, China's air program, and other indications, leaves no doubt as to what the future portends in that part of the world. Do you wonder that Japan is uneasy and jumpy? She sees that she may again have to stake her existence on the plains of Manchuria, with public opinion throughout the world marshalled against her.

The only barrier between Communism and its domination of Eastern Asia is the buffer state of Manchoukuo allied with Japan to ward off this menace to their ex-

istence. As to whether Manchoukuo and Japan are justified or not in combining to defend themselves, is a matter which does not concern any other nation. As to Manchoukuo, its people prefer to live their lives under a system of government they understand rather than come under a rule that is as loathesome and abhorrent to them as it is to the people of the United States. Communism at home in Russia and in China does not take the form of a war of ideals, but achieves its supremacy by ruthless massacre. The people of Manchoukuo can see how it works just across the border. Thousands of refugees slip into their territory to escape death at the hands of their Red taskmasters in Siberia. Under the old regime, these poor unfortunates were rounded up by Chinese bandit generals and returned to their executioners at so much per head. The people of Manchoukuo can see with their own eyes the starvation, misery and human degradation that stalks just across their borders; they know what has happened in Central China where whole cities, towns and villages have been looted and given to the flames, their inhabitants, men, women and children slaughtered, and the young girls led away to satisfy the lusts of the soldiery. They know what Communism in Asia means, and are determined to defend themselves against any attempt to implant the doctrines in their territory. So, altogether apart from the basic principles involved, there are other excellent reasons which justify the creation of the new State.

We are told that Manchoukuo is not an independent state, that it is merely a puppet of Japan; that in due course Japan will annex the country the same as she did Korea. The process of reasoning seems to be that Japan

will set up a constitutional Monarchy under the rulership of Mr. Henry Pu Yi, and, when the time is ripe, compel her "puppet" to sign a decree of annexation in order to legalize her "conquest." Many of my newspaper colleagues who have visited Manchoukuo come away with this impression, which clearly indicates that they went there, not with an open mind, but with preconceived ideas absorbed through contacts in Peking or Shanghai and reading Chinese propaganda. My answer to this is very simple. Anybody with a knowledge of China knows that the only conception the modern Chinese have of government is to divert all the revenues into their own pockets. The old virtues of the race have disappeared, and it will take many decades to educate them in the rudiments of honest government. Unless competent and conscientious officials supervise the collection and expenditure of the revenues, there will be no government and Manchoukuo will slip back into the morass of corruption from which it was extricated.

The question arises: how long will it take the Japanese to teach these people the rudiments of good government; how long will it be before their controls can be withdrawn and complete administrative independence handed over to the Manchurians? I can only answer this by comparing American methods in the Philippines with the similar experiment the Japanese are trying out in Manchoukuo. When we took possession of the Philippines, we said in effect to the Filipinos: "You people are not competent to govern yourselves; you cannot be set adrift to become the prey of other Powers; you must remain under our tutelage until such time as, in our opinion, you have arrived at that stage where you can be



safely granted your complete independence." Notwithstanding that a majority of the Filipinos have a background of four centuries of Spanish culture and have embraced Christianity, after thirty years of schooling in American ideals and self-government, we refuse to admit that they have progressed to the point where they can be left to work out their own salvation. It is true that we are to concede independence to the Islands, not because we believe we have discharged our duty or that the Filipinos are competent to govern themselves, but because our home agricultural interests have demanded this as a protection for their products. The open letter of Secretary Stimson to Senator Borah on the reasons why we should hold on to the Islands is perhaps the most imperialistic document ever penned by an American statesman. Analyzed, his letter says that we must keep the Filipinos in subjection, in order to retain a naval base in the Far East to uphold the principles of the Open Door and the integrity of China. Secretary Stimson would subordinate our political ideals and the independence of the Filipinos to our commercial interests in China and the enforcement of policies and treaties designed to preserve intact the territorial integrity of that country. Not against Russia, mind you (she has *carte blanche* to do as she pleases in Asia), but against some other Power not mentioned, but whose identity is not difficult to arrive at by a process of elimination.

Now look at Manchoukuo. Japan says to the people of that country: "We recognize your independence and stand ready to enter into an alliance with you to safeguard our mutual interests." But, like the United States in the Philippines, she also says: "You are incapable of

self-government; you have not the first conception of what self-government means or the first qualification for its exercise; you must accept our assistance to establish a proper government and teach you to run it so that in due time you will develop into a strong, self-contained state, competent to discharge your end of our mutual bargain." There is no ambiguity about Japan's declaration of intentions. She starts out by a full and frank recognition of Manchoukuo's independence and sovereignty. That question is forever removed as an issue between the two peoples.

The real question is: how long will it take to educate the people of Manchoukuo to govern themselves? That seems to be a matter which concerns only the people of Manchoukuo. As long as they are satisfied, no other nation has the right to interfere. Certainly, the last people in the world to prejudge Japan, question her good faith or impugn her motives are the people of this country. It may take one, two or more decades, before Japan can safely withdraw her political, economic and financial advisers from Manchoukuo and, even when full administrative independence is conceded, Japan can never completely surrender with safety that military supervision and cooperation upon which rests the vital strategic security of both nations.

If you will read the many speeches delivered during the Senate session of 1900 which fixed the policy of the American Government towards the Philippines, you will learn that pure altruism decided us to assume unasked the burden of educating and uplifting the Filipinos to the point where they would be competent to govern themselves. This "divine mission" has since been expanded

into an imperialistic doctrine which calls for the retention of the Islands in order that we may possess a base to enforce respect for the Nine Power Treaty, that is, the Open Door and the Territorial Integrity of China. The Filipinos must forego their independence in order to guarantee the territorial integrity of 500,000,000 Chinese whose disorganization invites intervention in their affairs. There is no altruism in what Japan has done in Manchoukuo. Sheer necessity, the instinct of self-preservation, has influenced Japan in demanding that Manchoukuo place its house in order and discharge its fundamental duties to its own people and its international obligation to defend itself against a menace that has already dismembered China and threatens to dominate the whole country.

Does this mean that Manchoukuo is and will always remain a "puppet" state? Just what is a puppet state? How long would certain states of Europe survive without the powerful and determined backing of France? How long would any of the Latin American republics endure after the Monroe Doctrine no longer affords them protection? The only right that Nanking has to rule over all China is the recognition and financial support of the Powers. Withdraw that recognition and the government at Nanking will collapse like a house of cards and China would split up into four or five independent states. So, what do we mean by a puppet state? If Manchoukuo is a puppet, so is Nanking; so are many other countries whose independence is guaranteed by stronger Powers in order that they may serve as buffers against a hypothetical enemy. This principle, invoked by other great Powers for their security, is all that binds Japan and

Manchoukuo together.

Manchoukuo looks forward with hope and confidence that under Japanese tutelage it will make rapid advances toward the goal of good government and the day will arrive when the people will demand an abatement of Japanese supervision and intervention in their internal affairs. Human nature is very much the same the world over. Experience teaches us that it is futile to expect gratitude from any people for merely bettering their conditions. For the moment, the people of Manchoukuo are deeply grateful and appreciative of the support and assistance extended to them by Japan, but as the years go by and the country becomes stabilized and prosperous, as the revenues increase and the budget is doubled and trebled, the people of Manchoukuo will not be happy until they are conceded a larger control over their own affairs. It is safe to predict that Japan will gradually hand over full control to the Government of Manchoukuo and confine her intervention to cooperation in basic strategic measures for mutual defense.

In other words, the Protocol between Manchoukuo and Japan is, for all practical purposes, a Far Eastern application of the Platt Amendment, recognizing the treaty rights and interests of Japan in Manchoukuo; providing for military cooperation in the maintenance of peace and national security and conceding to Japan the right to station troops in Manchoukuo for this purpose. As long as the Stimson Doctrine holds out the inducement to Chinese war-lords to re-establish their rule over Manchoukuo and the Third International adheres to its program to Communize and dominate Asia, the security of the new State is menaced from three sides.



Should Manchoukuo go under, Japan's existence would be automatically imperilled. Self-preservation has therefore brought these two nations together for mutual defense. Japan's right to station troops in Manchoukuo is paralleled by American policy in Cuba, where, because the strategic problems envisage aggression from overseas, the United States maintains a naval base instead of an army post. Although the United States might with perfect safety revise the Platt Amendment and surrender her right to intervene in the internal affairs of Cuba for the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property and individual liberty, Japan is so placed that she must insist upon the right to intervene in the internal affairs of Manchoukuo until such time as a strong, self-contained native government can perpetuate itself. Prosperity, internal peace and stability may not always satisfy Manchoukuo, but when to these blessings are added a security that Japan alone can guarantee, there is reason to believe that the people of that country will not resent or seek to terminate by force Japan's benevolent intervention in their affairs. The day will come when Manchoukuo will be able to stand alone. The Protocol with Japan will then reduce itself to an ordinary alliance for mutual defense between two sovereign states.

Before I accepted the invitation to come to America for the Government of Manchoukuo, I made my own investigations as to the true objectives of Japanese policy in that country. I could not consistently or conscientiously accept a mission on behalf of Manchoukuo, feeling in my heart that Japan intended to annex the country. If I am now in Washington as Counsellor for Manchou-

kuo, it is because I am satisfied and confident that Japan will faithfully comply with her pledges. But before arriving at this conclusion, I talked with all the leaders of the Japanese Government, including the War Minister, General Araki. Perhaps the most emphatic and concise declaration of Japan's intentions is found in General Hishikari's statement in Tokyo as he was leaving for his new post as Japanese Ambassador at Hsinking. He said: "*The basic and unswerving policy of Japan in Manchoukuo is a most scrupulous respect for the independence and sovereignty of that country.*" These few words reflect exactly what all the other leaders said to me in more lengthy conversations. I have full faith and trust in this statement.

From what I have already said and from what leading Japanese have stated on many occasions, you will sense that the main interest of Japan in Manchoukuo is to create a buffer state that will guarantee to Manchoukuo, to Korea and to Japan their security against the advance of Communism. No matter what people in this or other countries think about Communism, the peoples of Manchoukuo, Korea and Japan are face to face with the menace, and they realize that some day they may have to fight for their right to exist. This belief is deep-rooted in the minds of the people of Japan. If, and when that day arrives, and Japan once more has to stake her existence on the plains of Manchoukuo, she must be assured of the friendship, the good will, the trust and the confidence of the thirty million people of that country.

If Japan should make the mistake of treating these people as inferiors or as subjects to be exploited, she will gain their ill-will, their distrust and their enmity

and, when the show-down comes, Japan will face a solid bloc of enemies on the mainland. Slavs, Chinese, Koreans and Manchurians would combine against her, and she would go down to defeat and pay in tears and sorrow for her mistakes. So, if only for reasons of self-preservation, Japan will carry out her pledges with Manchoukuo. We may believe Chinese propaganda that Japan is out for conquest, that she intends to overrun Asia, smash the United States and then conquer the world. This is fantastic; pure, unadulterated bunk, a repetition of propaganda methods so successfully employed to inflame world opinion against Germany. The Japanese are concerned solely with preserving their own independence and in establishing guarantees for their security.

Has Japan the right to defend herself against the "*menace from the direction of Urga*" by supporting and guaranteeing the independence of Manchoukuo? The League, after carefully erecting a "*Cordon Sanitaire*" to serve as a buffer between Western Europe and Bolshevik Russia, and the United States, safely protected by 5,000 miles of ocean from immediate contact with Communism, apparently denies to Japan the right to establish similar guarantees for her own security against this danger. Russia may expand her frontiers in Asia and no Power voices a protest.

Yet for the last seventeen years, Russia's program has been recorded in the archives of the State Department. In the exchange of correspondence over the Siems-Carey Railway contracts in 1916, the Russian Minister in his note to Minister Reinsch at Peking said that it was Russia's "policy to treat Mongolia as a natural barrier against Chinese colonization movements in the direction

of the Russian dominions, that the *status quo* in Mongolia, by which is meant the permanence of that country in a pastoral state with sparse population, was essential to the feeling of security of his country ; therefore, his Government could not look with indifference upon any enterprise that would induce the development of Chinese colonization northward in Mongolia. These considerations constitute the background of the Russian policy of trying to exclude foreign capital from railways in the region affected."

Soviet Russia carried the policy of its Czarist predecessors to its logical conclusion by inciting the Mongols to declare their independence of China and, when this was done, recognized and incorporated the new State into its system of Socialist Republics. If Russia has the right to protect herself against the pressure of Chinese colonization by creating a buffer state in Mongolia, then by the same logic, Japan is equally justified in erecting a barrier in Manchuria to defend herself against Communism. The United States did not marshal world opinion against Russia. We waited a reasonable time and then recognized her.

If, as you have been led to believe, Japan is influenced by mercenary motives, and intends to exploit the people and resources of Manchoukuo for the benefit of its own industry and trade, it will interest you to learn that the Japanese Military Authorities are firmly opposed to any such program. When I visited Manchoukuo last August, I heard from many Japanese business-men rather bitter criticisms directed against the Army's attitude. My observations convince me that the High Japanese Military Command in Manchoukuo has adopted the policy



laid down by Mr. Taft when, as Governor-General of the Philippines, he enacted laws to curb the monopolistic tendencies of American business-men and to preserve the Islands from being overrun and exploited by our commercial adventurers. The Japanese Army is similarly determined that the Manchurians shall not be exploited while it is engaged in the task of pacifying and stabilizing the country.

I will not say anything about Cuba, other than that in my younger days I stood by the side of Gomez and Maceo in their most stubbornly fought battles with the Spanish troops. My whole heart and sympathy was with the Cuban cause, but I opposed American armed intervention, believing that the Cubans would be much better off if they gained their freedom unaided. I have lived to see my prophecies come true. We liberated Cuba from Spain; granted her a qualified independence and then slowly riveted upon her the chains of economic slavery. I do not like to dwell upon the picture of Cuba today. Frankly, I do not believe that the so-called imperialists and capitalists of Japan (and I know them all personally) could make as many mistakes in Manchoukuo as we have done in Cuba. At any rate, if the present policy of the Japanese Army is any guide for the future, Manchoukuo has nothing to fear from Japanese exploitation.

I do not know how many Japanese are employed by the various Manchoukuo ministries, provincial and municipal governments, the army and police, but I do know that the little group which is moulding and directing the policies of the Government are men of the highest character who have completely subordinated their Japanese nationalism to the service of the New State. I have



met and talked with these men and I find we speak the same language. Their enthusiasm, optimism, spirit of service and determination to succeed, convinced me of their sincerity and singleness of purpose. Contrary to belief, these men are not receiving their orders from Tokyo. They are not conspiring or intriguing to bring about the annexation of Manchoukuo. There are no plots to elevate Mr. Pu Yi to the Throne and force him to betray his people. As a matter of fact, so intent are these men in discharging faithfully their tasks that they are often in open conflict with Tokyo over details of administration, especially when the latter seem to impinge on the administrative independence of Manchoukuo. They do not take orders from or jump at the crack of the Japanese military whip. As a matter of fact, there is very little interference on the part of Tokyo or the military with the internal affairs of Manchoukuo. The broad lines of general policy as outlined by General Hishikari are being adhered to, but it is obvious that during the transition from chaos to stability, the Japanese must insist upon that honesty in administration, without which no progress is possible.

As the representatives of the American Government in the Philippines during our initial period of experiment there, typified all that was best in our national character, so the Japanese who are guiding Manchoukuo along the paths of good government, are representative of the highest types in their country. They may apply different methods in carrying out their program, but their goal is the same. The aspirations, the peace, well being and general contentment of the people of Manchoukuo are safe in the hands of a group whose ideals, conception of

honor, chivalry, square-dealing and self-sacrifice are as high as that of any similar group in any nation of the West. Circumstances may compel a change in Japanese policy; certain sections of Japanese public opinion may clamor for the outright annexation of Manchoukuo; commercial adventurers may press for a monopoly to exploit the country; but the group now in power in Japan and their representatives in Manchoukuo will never betray their trust. For better or for worse, Japan has made her bed and must lie in it. The die has been cast. The sovereignty and independence of Manchoukuo will be respected.

The Japanese Army has one object only in Manchoukuo and that is to lay a solid foundation for the future strategic security of the Empire. When its task is finished, it will withdraw and cease to meddle with the civilian government of the country. Every nation in the world has adopted similar policies for defense, yet by common consent they deny to Japan the same right. Just across the Yellow Sea from Japan are Chinese armies numbering 2,500,000, with another 2,000,000 bandits and Communists roaming the country-side, living off the people. There are nearly 5,000,000 men carrying a gun in China; double the number in the combined armies of all the nations of the world. Mongolia has a Red army of 75,000, while Soviet Russia has over 1,250,000 men under arms. Between six and seven million men are in arms in Asia, confronting Japan and Manchoukuo. If these armies combine and move against Japan, she may go down to defeat and become a little third rate Power taking orders from Moscow. Do you wonder that Japan with her army of 230,000 is deeply concerned over what

is happening in Asia? Perhaps you will now understand, as I did, why Japan must and will live up to her commitments in Manchoukuo and why that country will remain independent and be permitted to work out its salvation. Japan's very existence depends upon it.

Although selfish reasons may explain Japan's policy in Manchoukuo, her rulers feel that they have a mission to restore law and order and good government in a territory they hold vital to their economic and strategic security. In carrying out this mission, Japan may have violated her treaties with other Powers. But whether she did or did not, is beside the question. Self-preservation is the first law of nature, and when man-made laws and treaties tend to deprive the individual or nation of the right to self-defense, the day will arrive when they will be subordinated to the primal code.

*Japan's resort to self-defense has not resulted in the conquest or annexation of new territory.* It has resulted simply in the creation of a new Chinese State that will determine its own future as it grows stronger and more able to take care of itself. Japan has not seized Manchoukuo. The 30,000,000 people of that country are independent and will fight to preserve their independence. If all these people are, as alleged, true, patriotic Chinese, bound to their brothers beyond the Wall in ties of a common culture and civilization, no power in the world can forever keep them apart. The day will come when order will be restored in China Proper and a new system of government will supplant the insensate struggle of warlords for place, power and pelf. If there is to be a lasting peace in China, there must be some recognition of the rights of the provinces to complete independence of a

foreign imposed central authority. It is too early to state what form of government will be evolved, but if the present trend is any indication, it may well result in a confederation of independent states held together by the same tenuous ties which now bind the parts of the British Empire to the Central Authority in London. Under similar conditions, the people of Manchoukuo might consider cooperating with their racial brothers south of the Wall, but they will never again submit to being ruled by any war-lord from Canton, Chekiang, Hopei, or any other section. Manchoukuo will retain its independence, not only from the rest of China, *but from Japan*. I repeat: Japan has definitely recognized this independence and will cooperate with Manchoukuo to defend and preserve it against danger from any quarter. I cannot leave this subject without a few words about the Chief Executive of the new State, Mr. Henry Pu Yi.

The American press seems to delight in holding this young man up to ridicule. "Pooh! Pooh! Pu Yi!" is the title and theme of scores of American editorials on the ruler of the new State, conveying the impression that he is a "puppet," a "weakling," "the willing tool" of the Japanese, waiting to be crowned Emperor or King so that he can sign away his birthright and legalize Japan's so-called conquest of Manchoukuo. I have watched this young man grow from a baby to young manhood, and I know of no public character more deserving of sympathy. Pu Yi has suffered. He has tasted all the bitterness of life. Since able to understand things, he has lived in fear and trembling, never knowing what minute might be his last. At all times he has been the virtual prisoner



of a "Republic" that callously violated the Abdication Agreements entered into in good faith on the part of the Manchus to avoid plunging the country into the horrors of civil warfare. Since his forcible ejection from the Forbidden Palace by Feng Yu-hsiang, he has found refuge and safety in the compound of the Japanese Legation at Peking, and, after his departure from that haven, in the Japanese Concession at Tientsin.

Never physically strong or robust, this restraint on his liberty of movement and constant dread of assassination affected his general health, his disposition and outlook on life. He became "*that poor young man*," the butt of ridicule of the Chinese and foreign press. That young man is now free. He escaped from his prison and is now in his own country, the land of his Fathers. Surrounded by loyal Manchus and with a body-guard composed in the main of the sons of Mongol princes, the old fear and trembling has been displaced by a feeling of security. The general effect upon his health and deportment has been remarkable. His eyes are clear, his handshake is firm and he looks physically fit. He plays tennis and rides horseback every day, developing a physical strength which, added to his splendid mental qualities has changed the "weakling" into a man the world will have to reckon with. Anyone who has had the privilege of a confidential talk with Pu Yi must admit that he has a firm and intelligent grasp of the problems confronting the new State and that he looks forward to a career filled with great responsibilities.

Pu Yi is a highly educated, cultured and refined Oriental scholar and gentleman, with the traditions of rulership behind him and the blood of the best Emperors of



China in his veins. On top of this, he has received a splendid English education under the tutorship of Sir Reginald Johnstone, the foremost British Sinologue. This young man is a hundred times better qualified to rule than any of the coolie or bandit generals the Powers have recognized as the Government of the "Republic of China." Although he may never be what the world calls a "strong man," there is every indication that he will develop into a wise, merciful and capable ruler.

Pu Yi is not the puppet he is reported to be. He comes from sturdy stock. He will never sign away his birth-right for a mess of pottage, no matter how much pressure may be brought to bear on him. I have confidence in that young man and believe that as the years roll by, he will command the attention and respect now denied to him. We are told that he is held a prisoner, that he dares not move outside his quarters for fear of assassination. The truth about this, is that every precaution is taken to safeguard his person. His so-called "jailers" are all loyal to him and what he stands for. It is true that he is not seen publicly without a guard, but that is also true of every other ruler and general in China and applies to heads of state in other parts of the world. With the sole exception of Sun Yat-sen, no war-lord of republican China has dared to move around without a body-guard or an army at his back. The mob would tear him to pieces. In the case of Pu Yi, there are many adherents of the old bandit regime who would not hesitate to eliminate him from the picture.

After all, Pu Yi, whether he is called Chief Executive, Regent, King or Emperor, is merely a symbol, a rallying point for nationalism. The people of Manchoukuo and

the Mongols look up to him as the "Son of Heaven." It may not conform to our Western ideals of democracy, but it will weld these people into a nation. Patriotism and nationalism takes many forms, but whatever they may be, if they bring law and order, respect for authority and stability of government, no other people have the right to complain, especially at a time when more advanced systems of government are crumbling before the onslaught of ideals which make for anarchy, revolution, dissolution and national decay.

Experts are now drafting a constitution for the new State. While I cannot assert with official knowledge what form the new government will take, I feel safe in predicting that it will be along the lines of a constitutional monarchy with Mr. Pu Yi as the ruler. Although I am a dyed-in-the-wool Jeffersonian Democrat, intensely loyal to American traditions, ideals and principles, my thirty years' experience in Asia convinces me that it will take another century or so to educate the Chinese in the rudiments of self-government as we understand it. I have furthermore become convinced that if there is to be a cessation to the slaughter that to date has characterized the movement to implant republican ideals in China, there must be an early return to some form of government more suited to the needs of the people. In plain words, I have reluctantly subordinated my political ideals and principles to the exigencies of Humanity and it is for that reason I stand here before you as the Advocate of Manchoukuo and why I cannot see eye to eye with the Far Eastern policy of our Government.

Any doctrine, policy, treaty or covenant which proclaims and upholds the right of any one war-lord to con-

solidate his authority by the sword over 500,000,000 people and which recognizes and finances his campaigns with the revenues derived from a foreign-supervised customs service, is fundamentally wrong, opposed to all those concepts of Civilization and Humanity upon which human progress is founded.

I repeat, that more people have been killed in these civil wars in China during the past twelve years than were killed in the World War, while the untold millions who have died of starvation, plague, floods and other calamities, all of which could have been averted by honest administration, far exceeds the civilian deaths of the Great War. Yet the world prates of peace and humanity. How long is this slaughter to continue? How long must the lowly, miserable, inarticulate Chinese farmer pray to his gods for deliverance? Poor, hungry people who turn to any leaders promising release from their misery, are being mowed down by machine guns in order to perpetuate the rule of military overlords whose only conception of government is their own enrichment and whose right to rule and hold the people in subjection is derived from the recognition of the Powers and the weight of their armies. The cries of distress, of agony and human misery that in any other country or at any other time, would be heard throughout the civilized world, are drowned in the roar of political propaganda and the pronouncements of policies. The laws of Humanity do not extend to China.

Unfortified cities have been bombed, stormed, sacked, burned, and the whole population, men, old women and children, put to the sword and the bodies left for the dogs to devour. The young women and girls are carried

off to be the slaves and playthings of the soldiers. The almost incredible barbarities, licentiousness and bestiality which mark the Communist advance and the anti-Communist drives in Central China have no parallel in modern history. The real truth about China is never told to a foreign audience. In all these years, you have not heard one pacifist, one League enthusiast, one outstanding philanthropist or humanitarian, one missionary or one spokesman for the common people of China denounce publicly these atrocities and high crimes against Humanity and Civilization. You have heard only from the spokesmen for the official minority who constitute the electorate and rulers of China, whose bullets, bayonets and bombs take the place of the vote in a country which claims to be a republic. The welter of their propaganda has drowned out the appeals that wells from the hearts of millions of human beings praying for some alleviation to their sufferings.

In stating the case for Manchoukuo, I am also speaking for these millions of China, who by our policies, we have delivered over to their oppressors. We can do little now to stop the march of events. The people of Central China have turned to Communism as their sole hope of deliverance from the yoke foreign diplomacy has fastened upon them. The Yangtze Valley will go Red and a new government will supplant the regime at Nanking. The Nationalist-Red armies of over two million men will then be free to advance upon North China and Manchoukuo, and the story of wholesale massacres, looting, burning and destruction will again fill the front pages of our newspapers. Whether Manchoukuo will survive or not is problematical. It will fight to preserve its integ-



rity and independence, but if it should go under, the world will then face a united Red China, allied with Moscow for the complete domination of all Asia. The future is far from bright, but Manchoukuo looks forward with hope and confidence that saner minds will find some way to stabilize conditions and usher in a new era of peace and understanding founded on the rights of the people of China to a voice in their own affairs. And this, to my mind, can be brought about only by the recognition of Manchoukuo and what it stands for.

This conclusion is not in the nature of an appeal for recognition. Manchoukuo is not seeking recognition or financial assistance. The League and the American Government say in effect: "We do not like the way you achieved an independence that conflicts with treaties and policies designed to preserve the territorial integrity of what is known as China; you may believe that Manchuria has always been independent and that you had the right to assert that independence; but your ideas conflict with the treaties we have entered into for the protection of our loans, our trade rights and our investments in that country. Moscow may flout these treaties with impunity by creating an independent Soviet Republic in Mongolia, but we cannot permit the precedent to be extended to Manchuria. The people of Manchoukuo must return to the rule of the Chinese war-lords and accept our solution to their problems." In effect, the League recommends, and the United States concurs, in that the League will act as Trustee in Manchuria for the war-lord of their choice, while they cooperate with him in the establishment of a strong central government somewhere in China Proper. "If you reject our solution,



we will refuse to recognize you; we will penalize and ostracize you and bring all the weight of our diplomacy to bear in order to reduce you to submission. But while we are doing this, you must keep the door open so we can trade with you. Your political morals may be bad, but your money is good."

Manchoukuo accepts the verdict and replies: "*Come and do business with us.*" Commerce does not depend upon a formal exchange of diplomatic and consular officials with their staffs of commercial attaches, trade commissioners, treasury agents and other business go-getters. Agents of American manufacturers can sell their goods in Manchoukuo and purchase the products of that country without all this hullabaloo about the Open Door. When Americans speak of the Open Door, we mean a door that opens for us to enter but does not swing the other way. The old trade axiom has been forcibly brought home to the American people in the past few years. *You cannot sell unless you buy.* If America wants to dispose of more of its goods in the market of Manchoukuo, why not buy something it has to sell? Every dollar you spend in Manchoukuo will be returned in purchases of American materials. For example, you can buy Manchoukuo coal and iron for the Pacific Coast and there is no reason why you should not purchase bean cake for fertilizer or cattle food and build up a trade that will balance itself the same as Japan has done. Don't insist on making it a one-way proposition.

If we cannot buy Manchoukuo's agricultural products the same as other countries, because our farmers will demand a higher tariff to protect their products, don't call Manchoukuo names and accuse it of closing the door

if its necessities compel it to import from those who do buy its cereals. Manchoukuo is doing its best with its limited resources to create a new market for many manufactured goods that it can buy better and cheaper in the United States than in any other country. Its wealth is largely agricultural. Soya beans are the mainstay of its farmers. America does not buy any of these beans or the oil and cake expressed from them, but other countries take over 3,000,000 tons annually. Germany has purchased over a million tons (Manchoukuo's most important customer), but this year, in order to protect home agricultural interests, its government placed a prohibitory tariff on further imports of soya beans. Manchoukuo now faces the loss of this market. There will be a surplus of over two million tons of beans in Manchukuo this year, and if the people are to live, they will have to plant wheat and look forward to supplying the Far East with this staple. Now suppose that instead of purchasing American automobiles, trucks, road and farm machinery, Manchoukuo should say to Germany: buy our beans and we will buy these manufactured materials from you. Should Manchoukuo adopt this barter system along the same lines as Brazil and other countries and exchange its main crop for German mechanical products, the market would be practically closed to the United States for everything except oil, cotton and tobacco. Manchoukuo would then be accused of closing the door to American trade and of violating its pledges. As Manchoukuo is not recognized, and is still considered a part of China, a violent press propaganda would be let loose upon the new State. However, the case is merely a hypothetical one. The Government of Manchoukuo is doing

its best to surmount its difficulties and develop the new State so that it will create a real market for foreign manufactured materials. Normally, the trade of Manchuria is about one-third the total of what was formerly China. If it can double this volume in the next few years, the trade of the thirty million people of Manchoukuo will become as valuable as that of the 500,000,000 who reside south of the Wall. That is Manchoukuo's goal.

Will Manchoukuo reach it? I believe she will, and for this reason. Under the old regime all the wealth of the country flowed into the pockets of the war-lord and his clique. The only business Americans could do in Manchuria was with this official group, which monopolized every line of trade and all of the industries not controlled by the Japanese. It was a very sticky business. Sometimes we were paid and sometimes not. When we were, the money passed through so many hands that by the time all commissions and squeeze were deducted, there was very little profit left. Under the old regime, the people had nothing. All their crops had to be sold to an official purchasing organization which paid them in worthless paper notes. The crops were then sold for gold or silver, and the hard metal went into the pockets of the war-lord. Nearly seven billion dollars in these worthless paper notes were foisted on the people at the point of the bayonet. Two years ago, the actual exchange value of these notes was perhaps 60,000,000 silver dollars, or an average depreciation of one hundred to one. The people could hardly purchase the bare necessities of life. Sunk in poverty and overawed by an army of 400,000 men, backed up by the largest arsenal in Asia, these people were reduced to slavery, compelled to work

and surrender the product of their toil in order to supply the funds for the maintenance of an army whose only object was to keep them in subjection.

These conditions are now reversed. For the first time in many years, the farmer can bring his produce into the railway centers and see chalked up on the official bulletin boards the market quotations for the day. He sells his produce at the market price and receives real money in payment. These people are now happy. They have a new and brighter outlook on life. Last year they were able to pay their debts and lay in their store of winter provisions and clothing. They also purchased a few comforts. This year they will buy more comforts. Next year they will buy a luxury or so, and it will not be long before they will be buying automobiles, improved farming implements and machinery and a thousand things they could never buy before. This is what the Government of Manchoukuo hopes to do. If that does not make for human progress, happiness and prosperity, I do not know what to call it.

I will not weary you with the details of Manchoukuo's progress. The success of its program rests on two basic essentials: First, the restoration of law and order, and the suppression of banditry that will bring security to the people. There are still some forty or fifty thousand bandits roaming the countryside. It will take another two years to bring them in and set them to work or, if all other methods fail, to exterminate them. That is the task of the army. Hand in glove with this, goes the stabilization of the currency. By next June all the worthless paper notes will be redeemed. With peace, security and a little prosperity, Manchoukuo will forge



ahead and fulfill its mission not only to its own people but to the world at large. All Manchoukuo asks is to be let alone to work out its own salvation.

Manchoukuo is too proud to further explain or apologize. Its people feel in their hearts that they were justified in declaring their independence and that the day will arrive when the rest of the world will recognize they did right in separating from the chaos of China and setting up for themselves. They deeply regret that the American people, who under any other circumstances would have sympathized with their desire for liberty, have closed their hearts to their appeals. The old policies, doctrines and treaties designed for the preservation of the integrity of what is known as China, are dead. If the League and the United States are determined to stick to the carcass of dead policies; if they refuse to open their eyes to the realities; if they insist that Manchoukuo is still a part of China; that the Stimson Doctrine of Non-Recognition has become fixed in international law; then the responsibility for whatever happens in the Far East rests squarely upon their shoulders.

The American Government and the League offers Manchoukuo no acceptable alternative. They have no substitute plan except a return to the old *status quo*, the submission of thirty million free men to the yoke of a warlord who is even now menaced on all sides by coalitions determined to oust him from power. At any time we may hear of his downfall. Following its traditional policy, will the United States recognize the Government that will be set up on the ruins of Nanking? If so, the peace we hope to establish in the Far East will be further off



than ever. For, unless I am wrong, the next Government of China will be Red, in league with Moscow. Manchoukuo will then be compelled to fight for its life. It can expect no help and little sympathy. It does not ask for it. It does ask for your understanding, and, if unfortunately, the issue is forced in the Far East and the American people are told they must uphold the "Sanctity of Treaties" or some other equally soul-inspiring slogan that will line you up against Manchoukuo and Japan, remember that behind these treaties stands the elemental law of self-defense and those higher and fundamental principles which concede to all human beings their inalienable right and duty to revolt against a system that held them in slavery, and to set up their own government. Recall the principles and ideals that form the basis of our own faith, our creed and our national existence and do not harshly judge another people for appealing to the same logic and resorting to the same drastic measures to escape from their yoke, even if in so doing, they violate or invalidate some treaty, entered into without their consent, between our Government and other Powers for the advancement of their own interests.

After suffering for more than two decades under an almost unbelievable tyranny; prohibited under severe penalties from voicing publicly or discussing privately their wrongs; ignorant even of their rights as human beings and unversed in the arts of self-government; how can we expect the people of Manchoukuo to evolve overnight a stable political system without outside assistance? In a country, where for centuries, banditry has been an honorable profession; where outlaw gangs such as we are accustomed to in the West, give place to whole armies,

which ravage the countryside, storm and loot cities, towns and villages; levy contributions on travel, trade and agriculture and subject entire districts and even provinces to their rule, how can we expect the Government of the new State to restore law and order and bring security and tranquility to the people in a day or even a year?

The task confronting the authorities is difficult enough without being hampered by those elements in China Proper who look forward to again riveting the yoke of servitude on the necks of the Manchurian people. No matter what the outside world may say or think of their independence, these people see clearly their duty. Manchus, Mongols, Chinese, Koreans and Japanese are cooperating in a spirit never before manifested in Asia to build up a State on a foundation of freedom, equality and justice. Has any sympathy been extended to them by the liberty-loving nations of the West? Have you heard one word of encouragement, one sign of approbation, one recognition of their right to do something that all other peoples of the world hold as a sacred duty to themselves and their children? No! You have heard nothing but condemnation, ridicule and invective. Every impediment is being placed in the way of their success. The necessity of being prepared at all times to resist invasion from without and maintain law and order within, imposed upon the Government by the Stimson Doctrine of Non-Recognition, constitutes in itself a severe handicap to immediate stabilization. The very pronouncement of the doctrine was interpreted as an invitation to revolting elements, a spur to the ambitions of Chinese warlords eager to conquer the territory and hold it as a

“living” for their soldiers. If the doctrine was conceived in this spirit, it is having the opposite effect. It has united the people, welding them into a nation. As long as the doctrine remains the cornerstone of League and American diplomacy, the world must not be surprised if it works out somewhat contrary to its hopes and expectations.

If any government or faction in China is encouraged to believe that it can extend its rule over Manchoukuo and in this belief should send its armies north of the Wall, it may well result that instead of conquering Manchoukuo, a Manchurian army may again occupy Peking. As long as the Stimson Doctrine remains in force, such a conflict would become merely a test of strength between rival Chinese factions contending for supreme power. It is well to member that Chinese armies have never conquered Manchuria. In every instance, it has been the other way; Manchurians have conquered and imposed their rule over China. It is not necessary for a Manchurian army to be reinforced by Japanese contingents in order to win such a war. Even should the Japanese troops retire to the railway zone and take no active part in such a conflict, the Manchurians are quite capable of holding their own and of taking the offensive. Faced with the alternative of bowing to the will of the Powers and recognizing the overlordship of some Chinese general or political faction, or of fighting for their right to complete independence, the people of Manchoukuo will to a man, appeal to the sword to preserve their liberty. Do not think that because they have reduced their army to 100,000 men that the Manchurians will rely upon Japan to fight their battles for them. If forced to do so,

they can again raise an army of four to five hundred thousand men, tax themselves to the limit and resume the Chinese war game where they left off. They have the courage, the brawn and the stamina. They now have a sense of nationalism, determined more than ever to enforce the principle of "pao-ching-an-min," "Manchuria for the Manchurians." They have the largest arsenal in Asia to supply them with arms and munitions and, if invaded, they will brush aside the help of Japan and carry the war into North China and reseal their ruler on the Dragon Throne in Peking.

Make no mistake about it, if they are ever called upon to stake their existence against the armies of China Proper, the people of Manchoukuo will conform to the strict legalities of the game and settle once and for all time the question of who is to rule over them. If a swash-buckling bandit and his narcotic-addict of a son could do it, there are other finer and higher types of Manchurian warriors who can do even better.

It may be that the Government of Manchoukuo in such an extremity will turn to Japan for military advice, for experienced airmen, and expert artillerymen, but what of that? Hsinking has the same right to employ Japanese as Nanking has to engage German military advisers and American aircraft instructors and flyers; the same right to engage fortification experts to design and lay out its trench system as Chang Hsueh-liang had to hand over to a foreign military attache the designing and construction of the defenses of Jehol. The Nationalist armies which swarmed up from Canton and conquered the Yangtsze Valley were directed by Communist generals, political advisers, propaganda experts and cheer-



leaders, and there was no protest from the Powers against this intervention in the affairs of China. Manchoukuo can employ Japanese army officers to advise its generals and direct their campaigns without involving the Japanese Government in the dispute. The people of Manchoukuo are fully aware of the precedents created for them and face the future with supreme confidence.

They have no desire or intention to extend the authority of their government beyond the Wall or westward into Mongolia. They have no designs against Eastern Siberia or Vladivostok. They are content to remain within their own traditional boundaries. They have been bled white to pay for the military adventures of the Chang regime and they now desire peace, time to recuperate and enjoy a little prosperity. They are fed up with war, but if forced to defend their frontiers, they will again gladly submit to the grinding taxation necessary to maintain the armies required to safeguard their independence. On the assumption that Japan has in some manner unexplained annexed the territory of Manchoukuo in contravention of the Peace Pacts, the League and the United States have united to enforce and implement the Stimson Doctrine of Non-Recognition of the new State. That doctrine is merely an incitement to further war and bloodshed. If persevered in, it may bring about wholly unexpected results.

In the United States, the bond of union is the Constitution, a compact between sovereign states. There exists no such bond uniting the provinces of China. The only cement that holds that vast country together under any form of government is the recognition of the Powers to the Faction temporarily in control of Peking or Nan-

king and the payment to that Faction of the foreign-supervised customs revenues. Yet each province considers itself independent. War against the recognized Faction is not an act of rebellion but merely a struggle for supreme power. As long as any province continues the fight for supremacy, it is well within its rights and the Powers dare not intervene. But should one of these provinces reverse the rule, withdraw from the conflict and stand on its unquestioned independence, it immediately becomes a rebel against the recognized government and a violator of treaties designed to preserve the country intact for the perpetuation of the Open Door principle. The combined weight of foreign diplomacy is then brought to bear to coerce this province to subordinate its independence to the recognized war-lord. It must either submit or continue to fight. There is no alternative. Its right to self-determination and complete liberty is blocked by treaties and policies, and it must submit to seeing its revenues from foreign trade handed over to the recognized war-lord and expended to pay the armies maintained for its subjection.

Now I have only this to say. As long as no constitution exists to weld these independent units into a compact whole; as long as the faction recognized by the Powers enjoys the sole right to impose its rule over the rest of the country by the sword; as long as this recognized Faction is incapable of discharging the rudimentary functions of government and is powerless to extend protection to other provinces against invasion and insurrection; then the provinces so menaced are well within their sovereign rights to declare their independence, set up their own government and prepare to defend their

territory against a menace entrenched in an adjoining section of what at one time was also an integral part of China. If the right of these provinces to independence be rejected; if their right to defend themselves is set aside in order to preserve the fiction of the unity of China and they are exposed to the horrors of a Communist invasion, whether from the north, west or south, they have only one alternative. The Stimson Doctrine admits of no compromise. It says to the people of Manchoukuo that they must fight. The people of Manchoukuo do not want war. They want peace. But if the issue is forced upon them, they will place their trust in the God of Battles and if need be go down fighting for their security and tranquility. For Manchoukuo is not a puppet. It is an independent state; independent of China; independent of Japan. It will defend that independence at all costs. The people of Manchoukuo have placed their faith and trust in Japan to stand by them in their struggle. I have supreme confidence that this trust will not be betrayed.

And now, at the end of my talk, I will tell you a story. You may recall that in 1898 after Admiral Dewey destroyed the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay and declared a blockade of the port, the warships of other Powers hastened there for the protection of their respective national interests. You will recall that a German squadron arrived shortly after, under the command of Admiral von Diedericks, who immediately began to interfere with Dewey. To make matters worse, Prince Henry, the brother of the Kaiser, then in Shanghai, declared that the Powers would never permit the United States to hold the Philippines. The Germans were looking for

trouble and very nearly found it. You will recall that at one crucial moment when it looked as though the German fleet was ready to interfere with Dewey, Captain Chichester, commanding the British cruisers, steamed his vessels in between the German and American war-ships; a warning to von Diedericks to watch his step. But you do not know that at the same time one lone Japanese cruiser, the "Akitshushima," under the command of a Captain Saito, lined up with Chichester.

You must remember that the cable between Manila and Hongkong was cut, that there was no direct communication between the foreign fleets and their home governments. Saito acted on his own initiative, without instructions. It has never occurred to American writers what might have happened had Saito lined up with von Diedericks. Had the Japanese any real enmity towards this country and shown it at that moment, the history of the Far East from 1898 to date would have to be rewritten.

Do you know that immediately after this incident, Captain Saito was ordered to report to Tokyo? Do you know that instead of a reprimand, he was promoted to be vice minister of the Navy with the rank of Rear Admiral and that he held this post for eight years and was made a Viscount by his Emperor for his skillful handling of the Navy during the Russo-Japanese War? Do you know that he was then promoted to Minister of the Navy and that he held this portfolio for another eight years, retiring from active service in 1914? Then, six years later, when Japan was looking around for its most Liberal statesman and expert administrator to fill the post of Governor-General of Korea, the Emperor



called Admiral Saito from his seclusion and entrusted to him the most delicate task confronting the nation. And, when after he had discharged his mission in Korea and again retired, he was once more, by the unanimous voice of the nation, drafted into active duty. This old friend, the fighting captain of the "Akitsushima," is now Admiral Viscount Saito, the Premier of Japan.

When, a few months ago, the question of the ultimate independence of the Philippines was being discussed and Premier Saito through his official spokesman announced that Japan stood ready to sign a pact with the United States guaranteeing the independence of the Islands when we cast them adrift, practically every newspaper in this country which commented on it, replied in effect that the word of Japan was worthless; Japan could not be trusted; and to even suggest such a pact after what has happened in Manchuria was an insult to the intelligence of the American people! You can imagine the feelings of this old friend of ours on reading these hostile, caustic and wholly gratuitous rebuffs to what is merely the redeclaration of a policy he himself originally laid down and which has since been adhered to by all successive Japanese Governments.

Now, when you are again told that Japan intends to annex Manchoukuo, I ask you to remember that the Premier of Japan, Admiral Viscount Saito, the man who stood by Dewey at Manila, has affixed his name to a document recognizing the full and unimpaired sovereignty and independence of that country. You will be told that his word counts for nothing, that the militarists are in control of the Government; but again remember that at the head of these militarists stands that Grand Old

Man of Japan, the foremost Liberal of them all, the man, who, next to Admiral Togo, is venerated by the people as one of the greatest sea-fighters of their nation. You can depend upon it that what he has to say, goes in Japan. The Japanese nation will support their spokesman. **Manchoukuo will remain independent.**

The American people sympathized with Japan in 1905; we cheered her and our bankers advanced the loans which enabled her to wage to a successful finish her battle for existence against the most formidable military power of Europe. We approved when later she annexed Korea in order to defend herself against the preparations of Russia to resume the conflict. That picture has not changed. Japan faces the same old menace, fighting for her life against the chaos, the anarchy and the slaughter that is China, a condition brought about by the dissemination of Communist doctrines behind which the land-hungry Slavs are pressing forward to their ages-old goal, a warm water outlet on the Pacific. If Japan fails to check this movement, if she goes under in the struggle, the last barrier to the Soviet domination of Asia will be removed. To those who think differently, I recommend that they read the story of the Russian advance in Asia.

This is Japan's fight. If the people of the United States can no longer applaud or support her, at least give her the benefit of the doubt and remain neutral. Japan has guaranteed the independence of Manchoukuo; she has assumed a new and noble responsibility, a sacred obligation that she will honorably fulfill. Japan has trusted the United States to concede independence to the Filipinos; why cannot the American people trust Japan

to live up to her pledges in Manchoukuo? Why not have confidence in the word of Japan instead of calling her harsh names? If she succeeds in her mission, the force of the example set by Manchoukuo will compel China to do likewise and the whole world will benefit.

The hearts of the people of America are now being fired to embark on a fresh crusade for world peace. A new pacifist convert has joined the League and the United States to help usher in the new world order. Debts, credits and trade are to be subordinated to a passionate desire, nay, a grim determination to enforce peace at any price. Military preparedness and collaboration reinforced by moral pressure from Geneva, from Moscow and from Washington are to be brought to bear on nations "anxious for war." World peace at this moment means peace in Asia, but if peace in this part of the world is to be preserved, it must rest on ideals and principles which to date have been rejected in arriving at any solution to the problems involved. Peace must rest upon a solid foundation of those sacred and enduring principles of Humanity and Civilization which makes for Liberty, Progress and Human Happiness and their application to the down-trodden, lowly, inarticulate serfs of China. Manchoukuo has shown them the way.

The issue before the American people arising out of the Independence of Manchoukuo and the promulgation of the Stimson Doctrine is whether the fundamentals of our faith are to rule our diplomacy or be subordinated to general policies whose principles, interpretation and execution vary with every change of administration. The Stimson Doctrine was proclaimed at a time when it was believed Japan had invaded Manchuria and set up a

puppet government to camouflage its real design to ultimately annex the country. No thought was given to the right of the people of Manchoukuo to seize upon any opportunity to free themselves from the yoke of their bandit taskmasters and set up a government of their own along lines which meet with their conception of a square deal and the Will of Heaven.

The Stimson Doctrine denies to these people their right to self-determination and independence and delivers them over to outrage, rapine and slavery in order that the fiction of "China's" territorial and administrative independence, as provided for in the Nine Power Treaty, may be perpetuated. Yet every Signatory to that treaty which has recognized Soviet Russia has violated its plain terms. These Signatories have remained mute and acquiescent while Russia amputated Mongolia from the main body of China and incorporated the territory into its system of Soviet republics, thus bringing the menace of Communism to the very boundaries of Japan's sphere of strategic security and paving the way for further penetrations into the main body of China. Japan and Manchoukuo are expected to observe religiously the terms of a treaty which binds them hand and foot while Soviet Russia is preparing for their undoing. The rights and liberties of thirty million people are subordinated to the perpetuation of policies and treaties which bear no relation to the vital trade interests or the strategic security of the Nation.

The Government and people of Manchoukuo are not deeply concerned over the Stimson Doctrine. Its application in no wise affects their rights or their independence. They stand firmly on those Fundamentals upon



which all other virile, up-standing and self-respecting peoples have erected their liberties and declare their determination to defend their independence by every means within their power. They do not ask for recognition. They will never appeal for the justice they are now convinced will be denied to them. If the Government of the United States intends to uphold and enforce its conception of the Sanctity of Treaties, Manchoukuo stands firmly on Basic Principles. If that be a violation of treaties and covenants; if the Great Liberty-Loving Republic of the West is now to forsake its traditions in order to enforce the *Pax Americana* throughout the world, an end has come to Freedom and Human Progress.



## DATE DUE

APR 21 '69

69

GAYLORD

PRINTED IN U.S.A.

